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ABSTRACT

Educators are beginning to address the needs of children living in single-parent families and to recognize that the existing societal ideology of the family as a breadwinning husband and homemaking wife living with their children is problematic. However, single-parented children may suffer discrimination through school policies and teachers' attitudes. To determine teachers' psychosocial and academic expectations for children from one- and two-parent families, 100 teachers completed questionnaires. In addition, 102 parents were asked to respond to the same questionnaire in the way in which they believed a teacher would. Results indicated that the teachers had lower expectations for children from single-parent families. Parents perceived that teachers would have lower expectations for children from single-parent families. The findings suggest that teachers' negative expectations for single-parented children may have an impact on their students' performance. (Author/JAC)

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WHAT TEACHERS EXPECT OF CHILDREN FROM SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES*

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What Teachers Expect of Children from Single-Parent Families

Educators are beginning to address the needs of single-parented children. Nevertheless, some single parents reveal that their children suffer discrimination through school policies and teachers' attitudes. The study discussed in this paper purported to determine, through the use of a researcher-developed questionnaire, teachers' psycho-social and academic expectations for children from one- and two-parent families and parents' perceptions of teachers' expectations. Results indicated that overall these teachers had lower psycho-social and academic expectations for children from single parent families. Parents' perceptions were strikingly congruent.

The 'single-parent family' has replaced the 'broken home'. But while the terminology has changed, the connotations have remained the same. In a recent survey, 1200 single parents reported their perceptions of the public schools. By more than a 4 to 1 ratio (62% and 14%), these parents thought that school personnel do not consider the one-parent family to be a normal family style (Clay, Note 1). The purposes of this paper are twofold. The first is to examine the societal and resulting research biases against single-parent families. Secondly, this paper reports on a study of teachers' psycho-social and academic expectations for children from single-parent families. Implications of the results for education are discussed. Using teachers as a

microcosm of society, broader implications are drawn.

Family Ideology

The past decade has been marked by a societal preoccupation with families. Controversy over the demise of the nuclear family (Bane, 1976; Keniston, 1971), public policy related to families (Nye & McDonald, 1979; Schorr, 1979) and causes of family dysfunction (Gil, 1971; Steinmetz & Straus, 1974) abound. A growing number of family researchers take the position that Americans, both lay and professional, hold to an idealized model of family as a breadwinning husband, homemaking wife and their two children (Birdwhistell, 1970; Burgess, 1970; Cogswell, 1975; Howe, 1972; Schorr & Moen, 1979). Also, this idealized image portrays the family as a sanctum of intimacy, happiness and comfort (Birdwhistell, 1970). It is the fount of one's emotional and physical fulfillment. And despite statistics that show divorce as having doubled in the last decade (Johnson, 1977), Americans think of marriage as a lifelong union (Cogswell, 1975; Schulz & Rodgers, 1975). The vow "for as long as we both shall live" not only reflects the high value society places on marriage, but also the negative connotation that divorce means both personal and marital failure (Crosby, 1980).

This model of the breadwinning husband and homemaking wife living together with their children, although in reality accounting for only about 16 percent (U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1977) of American households, is problematic for both citizens and scholars. It causes serious complications for the study of families by distorting the perspective of investigators (Birdwhistell, 1966; Levin, 1979), leading to the labeling of other family forms as deviant, broken or unstable (Schorr & Moen, 1979). For individuals living in nuclear families as well as

those choosing alternative family forms, "...the myth of the idealized nuclear family has become untenable" (Cogswell, 1975, p.391). One such alternative family form is the single-parent family. Although some parents are solo by having chosen not to marry, many are single due to other circumstances such as separation, divorce, or death. In fact, statistics indicate that almost half of the children born in 1977 will live in a single-parent family sometime during their first 18 years (Glick, 1979). The nuclear family ideal carries with it assumptions and generalizations which can have detrimental effects on children and adults of one-parent families. Burgess(1970) states that the widely held view that it is impossible for the children of single parents to grow up as healthy, normal, mature people creates fear, guilt, and frustration in the single parent. It can also create a sense of inappropriateness or differentness in children which inhibits the development of their potential as human beings.

Research on Children from Single-Parent Families

Research on children from single-parent families is affected by and contributes to this problem. A vast body of literature exists and is often used to support a host of contentions about children from single-parent families, from social or psychological maladjustment to academic failure. Yet a growing number of researchers agree that these studies are fraught with methodological problems which impede the reporting of any conclusive results (Herzog & Sudia, 1973; Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1979). One criticism leveled against the research is that it is conceptualized with a view of the single-parent family as deviant or pathogenic. This view provides a narrow framework which leads to studying the single-parent family as an aberration of the traditional

nuclear family rather than a form in its own right (Herzog & Sudia, 1973; Levitin, 1979). Problems and biases in the choice of samples, designs, instruments, and procedures have been the result.

For example, clinical samples have been used in even the most acclaimed studies (e.g., Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976, 1977). Often, these samples are small, of unknown representativeness, and are biased in unknown ways (Levitin, 1979). Questions can be raised about the perceptions and motivations of the referring lawyer, social worker, teacher, or school psychologist. How much does the normative notion of family contribute to the determination of a child's need for therapy? Also, data based on clinical impressions and insights of one researcher are rarely replicable by another clinician of a different theoretical background and/or perspective (Levitin, 1979). Due to these shortcomings, findings from studies using clinical samples should not be generalized to the wider population.

Similar weaknesses are found in studies of the relationship between father absence and psycho-social difficulties. It is common in such studies to use police records or national statistics to determine which children engage in delinquent behavior. Herzog and Sudia (1973) reveal, however, that children from single-parent families are more likely than others to be brought to trial and once charged, committed. These proceedings are also more likely to be recorded. Policies for apprehending, committing and reporting juvenile delinquents also vary depending on the offender's race and socio-economic status. Low income children (many of whom live in single-parent households) are more likely to be apprehended and committed. Their families are also less influential in getting charges dropped. The

problem of differential treatment shades the conclusions drawn from these studies.

Other studies of personality (e.g., psycho-social adjustment and academic competence) have been criticized for basing results on subjective information. In many studies of single-parented children, teachers have been asked to provide trait ratings for children in their classrooms. The validity of such studies has been questioned on the grounds that these ratings may reflect the implicit theory of the rater and their (mis)perception or interpretation of the child's behavior (Bernard, 1981; Mischel, 1973).

Problems persist in educators' questions and answers about the school needs of children from single-parent households. A growing proportion of the nation's children will sometime during their school years live primarily with one parent. Recognition of this phenomenon has many educators advocating that school personnel address consequent needs. A spate of recent literature makes suggestions to principals, counselors and teachers about procedures ranging from recordkeeping to curriculum content (see, for example, The National Elementary Principal, October, 1979 and Hammond, 1979). While this recognition is certainly laudable, actions stemming from some of these suggestions may have debilitating effects on the children they are aimed at helping. Suggestions about provision of after-school day care facilities or attention to emotional changes certainly are helpful. But the implicit assumption that all and only children living in single-parent households are in need of such services may be harmful. Divorce will undoubtedly bring about changes in a child's life. But support and service will also be needed by two-parented children with, say, the death of a

sibling or a mother's entry into the workforce. Focusing too much attention on single-parented children can serve to set them apart and make them seem different, a counterproductive approach to developing positive self-esteem.

These underlying assumptions about children from single-parent families and the focus on them and their family life as "the problem" are also evident in the best-intentioned research. Recently, a study sponsored by the Kettering Foundation and the National Association of Elementary Principals was conducted as Brown, the director said, "in an effort to determine the impact on schools of this burgeoning new problem..." (1980, p.538). Some of its recommendations for schools are well-intended, impressing upon school personnel that they must accommodate themselves and their activities to the needs of single parents and their children. But the assumption of a "problem" biases the research. Consequently, results of the study conclude that single-parented children have lower academic achievement and more expulsion, suspensions, discipline problems, truancies and tardiness than their dual-parented peers. Calling the study misleading and harmful, Clay(1980) says it was based on faulty research, incomplete data and confused statistics. As an example, the researcher drew comparisons between groups of unequal size as if they were equal, putting the smaller single-parented group at a disadvantage. Another glaring problem with the study is that conclusions are drawn from very small samples of children. For example, children from single-parent families are claimed to be three times as likely to be suspended from school. While technically this may be accurate, the figures involved are a comparison of two-tenths and six-tenths of one percent and represent a total of 11 single-parent

children (Clay, 1980). Although the study itself does not explicitly say that poor student behavior or performance result from single-parenting, much of the publicity on the study's findings have implied this.

Dissemination of misleading results such as those have the possible effect of perpetuating generalizations, perhaps even misconceptions about children who live in single-parent households. One begins to wonder then what effect these generalizations/misconceptions have on the way in which practitioners (e.g., teachers, counselors) interact with their single-parented clientele. The literature on teacher expectations lends support to the contention that generalizations made from such studies might be detrimental to the well-being of children from single-parent families. Since 1968 when Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson published Pygmalion in the Classroom, a link between teacher expectations and student achievement and self-esteem has continued to be established. Despite weaknesses in the original work of Rosenthal and Jacobson, a large number of researchers, using a variety of methods, have unequivocally found that teachers do hold differential expectations for students which can inappropriately affect the teacher's interaction with students and create a pattern of teacher-student interaction which affects students' achievement and self-esteem (Brophy & Good, 1974; Sloan, 1977).

In 1978 the possibility that teacher ratings used by researchers might reflect stereotypic notions led Santrock and Tracy to examine teacher expectations. What they found was that after viewing a videotape of an 8 year old boy interacting with friends, a group of teachers

who had been told that he lived with only his mother and brother, rated him significantly lower on the traits happiness, emotional adjustment, and copes with stress. Another group of teachers who were told that the child was from an 'intact' family, rated him higher on these same traits. The stereotyping susceptibility of individual teachers within these groups was not evaluated, but the results are noteworthy nonetheless.

In summary, the existing societal ideology of 'the family' as a breadwinning husband and homemaking wife living with their children is problematic. This notion forms the underpinnings and shapes the outcomes of much of the research on children from single-parent families. Research conclusions, in turn, impact on individual's attitudes and expectations for single parents and their children. Since children spend a good portion of their early years in school, this institution has the potential of being a particularly supportive or destructive influence. Societal notions and assumptions about what constitutes a family and what the healthiest environment is for a child's development are sometimes used as the basis for policy and curriculum decisions. For a child whose family situation does not conform to this ideal, these decisions can be upsetting and possibly detrimental to their psychological and academic well-being.

While societally held assumptions may impact on the broader school system, it is in large measure teacher expectations which determine specific learning experiences of the child: the books chosen, the examples used in class, the teacher's behavior, and the models utilized for emulation. Examination of teacher expectations, therefore, is important and serves as a preliminary step in the investigation

of teacher behaviors.

The study reported in this paper builds on the work of Santrock and Tracy by examining psycho-social and academic dimensions of individual teachers' expectations for children from one- and two-parent families. These particular areas were selected because they are most relevant to the generalizations which arise out of the literature on children from single-parent families.

Research Procedures

One hundred (N=100) teachers from a rural, Northeast, predominantly white, middle class town comprised the sample. This population was selected to avoid the possible confounding effects of race and class on the data. The sample contained a majority (72%) of teachers from the elementary level, although teachers from the junior high (9%) and senior high (19%) levels were included. Most of these teachers were married and living with their spouses (78%); only 2% were single parents. Politically, half (50%) the teachers identified themselves as "middle-of-the-road", while 24% considered themselves "conservative" and 18% said they were "liberal".

Concern over the social desirability response set affecting the data led to the administration of the instrument to 102 randomly selected parents (32 single parents, 70 married parents) living in this same school district. In order to determine their perceptions of teachers' expectations, these parents were asked to respond to the questionnaire the way in which they believed a teacher would.

The instrument used in this study was developed by the author and has 2 parts, one consisting of 20 paired comparison scale items, the other consisting of 10 demographic questions. The first part contains

two subscales. One consists of 13 items measuring expectations related to psycho-social attributes of children. The other consists of 7 items measuring expectations related to academic attributes of children. Items for the instrument were developed from the literature on children from single-parent families and lists of characteristics small groups of teachers and parents believed teachers would use to describe children from one- and two-parent families. Respondents rated each of the 20 items on a 5-point scale where 1 = much more likely in children from one-parent families; 2 = somewhat more likely in children from one-parent families; 3 = as likely as; 4 = somewhat more likely in children from two-parent families; and 5 = much more likely in children from two-parent families.

The following demographic information was obtained from the second section of the instrument: sex, ethnic identity, age, marital status, parental status, income, and political leaning. Teachers were also asked about their frequency of contact with children from single-parent families. Parents were asked whether their children attended school in the district.

The reliability of the instrument was assessed using Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha. Item-by-scale correlations were computed to determine how well items related to one another within each subscale and on the entire instrument. For the entire instrument Alpha = .89, an acceptable degree of reliability.

Discussion of Results

Most of the teachers had lower psycho-social and academic expectations for children from single-parent families. These data render needless the concern over the social desirability response set. It was

thought that teachers might be sensitive to the bias the instrument was attempting to measure and therefore respond positively, feeling that such a response would be socially desirable. In retrospect, it seems apparent that to believe single-parent families are more conducive to psycho-social difficulties and low academic achievement is socially acceptable, if not desirable. Consequently, there was no need for teachers to mask their expectations.

Parents, overall, perceived that teachers would have lower expectations for children from single-parent families. Although it might be argued that parents' responses reflected their own expectations, recent research lends credibility to these results as parents' perceptions. Single parent dissatisfaction with the schools led the National Committee for Citizens in Education to conduct the "Single Parents and the Public Schools Project". In addition to the finding mentioned earlier in this paper, it was found that 45% of the single parents surveyed felt the school assumed any behavioral, emotional, or achievement problems a child has is related to being from a single-parent family. Only 30% said they didn't feel that way and 25% indicated that they didn't know (Clay, Note 1). Parents perceptions add depth to the teacher findings and will therefore be reported concurrently although not as extensively.

Psycho-social subscale. Teachers' and parents' responses were strikingly congruent. Negative psycho-social expectations for children from single-parent families characterized most of the responses. Over 90% of the teachers (see Table 1) indicated that they expect children from single-parent families to be more likely to possess the following psycho-social attributes than children from two-parent families:

craves attention (82%), insecurity (86%), undisciplined (79%), truant (75%), defiant (69%), overly fearful (65%), frequent expression of anger (64%), embarrassed about family (61%), unhappy (61%), and confused sex-role identity (52%). Parents perceived teachers as having slightly more negative expectations toward children from single-parent families than teachers' revealed about themselves (see Table 2). Equally noteworthy was that only a very few respondents (0-4%) indicated that any of these attributes are more likely to be exhibited by children from two-parent families.

On the psycho-social subscale, positive attributes (accepts others readily, cooperates with peers, and high self-esteem) drew a more divided response and were expected primarily of children from two-parent families. Nevertheless, a modest percentage (30-50%) believed they were as likely to be found in children from one-parent families as two-parent families. These results begin to suggest that among the teacher population there is some divergent opinion at least about the presence of positive attributes from both one- and two-parent families.

Academic subscale. Low academic expectations for children from single-parent families were suggested by teachers' responses to items on the academic subscale. While the results were not quite as strong as those on the psycho-social subscale, they did indicate a negative bias against single-parented children. Three positive attributes (high motivation to achieve, positive attitude toward school, and high academic achievement) were believed to be traits of children from two-parent families by over 69% of the teachers in the sample.

Whereas many teachers believed a number of the positive academic items were more characteristic of children from two-parent families, they were more divided in their responses to the negative items. Forty-seven percent of the teachers felt that poor reading skills are more likely to be characteristic of children from single-parent families. But an almost equal number (50%) believed this trait was as likely to be found in children from one family type as the other. A similar pattern was noted for the attribute incomplete homework.

On the academic subscale, parents generally perceived teachers' expectations to be slightly less negative toward children from single-parent families than teachers own responses indicated. This is in contrast to responses on the psycho-social subscale on which parents perceived teachers as having a slightly more negative attitude toward children from single-parent families than teachers' data indicated about themselves. These results possibly reflect parents' perceptions that teachers would expect the family to be more crucial in the development of psycho-social difficulties. Similarly, parents might think that teachers see themselves rather than the family as playing a larger role in the development of a child's academic skills.

In summary, these teachers held negative psycho-social and academic expectations for children from single-parent families. Parents' perceptions, overall, were congruent with these findings.

Demographic Information. Some of the demographic data warrants comment. For one, teachers in the sample were aware of their contact with children from single-parent families. Sixty-three percent had contact with eight or more children from single-parent families per year. One could conjecture that perhaps teachers' responses were

verifications of their experiences with single-parented children. However, it appears more likely that, as one teacher commented, " Their responses are general impressions and prejudices, not based on specific (instances of individuals) recall." This comment is supported by data indicating that teachers' responses were shaped by their political values.

Chi square analysis revealed that a significantly higher percentage of conservative teachers than liberal teachers expected these positive attributes to be more characteristic of children from two-parent families: high motivation to achieve ($\chi^2 = 11.4$, 6df, $p < .07$), high self-esteem ($\chi^2 = 13.5$, 6 df, $p < .03$), positive attitude toward school ($\chi^2 = 12.5$, 6df, $p < .05$), and high academic achievement ($\chi^2 = 12.0$, 6df, $p < .06$). Likewise, a significantly higher percentage of conservative teachers indicated these negative attributes as more characteristic of children from one-parent families: truant ($\chi^2 = 27.6$, 8df, $p < .0005$), undisciplined ($\chi^2 = 12.2$, 6df, $p < .05$), incomplete homework ($\chi^2 = 16.4$, 6df, $p < .01$), insecurity ($\chi^2 = 13.9$, 4df, $p < .007$), frequent expression of anger ($\chi^2 = 10.2$, 4df, $p < .04$), and overly fearful ($\chi^2 = 8.4$, 4df, $p < .07$). The middle-of-the-roads were somewhat divided on their responses but a greater percentage responded more consistently with the conservative teachers than the liberal teachers. The differences in responses by teachers with different political views supports the contention that teachers' perceptions of students are informed by their values. It should be pointed out, however, that results of this study do not reflect only the values of a highly conservative group of people as one might conclude. Although there were some differences in expectations between conservative and liberal teachers, half the

teachers in the sample identified themselves as politically middle-of-the-road. These data suggest that expectations for children from single-parent families to some extent do cross political barriers.

On the whole, differences in perceptions of married and single parents were not significant. However, of those parents who made free-form comments, many more single parents said they believed teachers have biased attitudes against children who live in single-parent households. A number of these parents also expressed that their children should be respected as individuals and not judged by teacher or societal preconceptions of their family structure.

Most of the parents in the sample had children attending schools in which the teachers were employed. So that while a parent's perceptions were not necessarily based on their experience of a particular teacher in this sample, they were, at least, informed by their perceptions of the norms in that school district.

Implications and Recommendations

This study generates several important questions. First, do children from single-parent families actually perform or behave poorly or are teachers' perceptions of these children skewed by their own expectations? Second, if children from single-parent families are behaving or performing poorly, to what extent are teachers' expectations a contributing factor? When viewed in the context of a body of literature which demonstrates a high correlation between teacher expectations and student achievement and self-esteem, findings of the present study imply that teachers' negative expectations for single-parented children may have an impact on their students' performance.

If teachers do hold negative expectations for children from single-

parent families, then further research should address several critical questions. First, what is the relationship between teachers' expectations and their behavior? In what ways are these expectations conveyed? Also, further observational work is needed to determine whether children from single-parent households do actually achieve or behave independent of teachers' expectations. (Given the multiplicity of variables affecting the lives of children from single-parent families and give the limitations of current research methods, it may be impossible to determine whether such differences do exist.)

Development of an observation instrument is a logical outgrowth of this study. Such an instrument would measure and document the operationalization of expectations by considering the following questions. To whom and how many times does the teacher give praise or encouragement? To whom and how many times does the teacher make punitive or discouraging remarks? Is the teacher's reaction congruent with the child's behavior (e.g., if the child seems sad one day, does the teacher immediately send the child to the school counselor)? Does the teacher's use of language reflect negatively on non-traditional family structures?

Descriptive feedback received through use of the instrument could aid teachers in assessing their classroom behaviors. Often, inappropriate teacher behaviors are unintentional, due more to a lack of awareness and lack of knowledge of appropriate strategies than anything else (Brophy & Good, 1974). Descriptive information about classroom behavior raises teachers' awareness and provides them with specific guidelines for change. In addition, a training program like the one designed by Sloan (1977) could be implemented. This program was designed to negate the effects of negative expectations by having teachers practice and

increase behaviors which convey positive expectations to students.

Findings of this study have important implications for research on children from single-parent families. Questions can be raised about the biases or assumptions of investigators conducting single-parent research. In addition, the results of many studies of children from single-parent families are based on teachers' subjective impressions as well as school records. In light of the present findings which suggest that teachers hold negative expectations for these children, conclusions from previous research must be seriously re-examined. It is the position of this researcher that unless these negative expectations held by teachers and researchers alike are more explicitly examined, the American educational system will continue to perpetuate yet another inhibitor to equal educational opportunity.

If teachers' responses are thought of as a microcosm of societal expectations, then it can be hypothesized that helping professionals in a variety of fields might hold negative expectations for single-parented children. Since the dynamics of expectations operate in all interpersonal relationships and contexts, it is essential that expectations of mental health practitioners be explored. What impact do, for example, school and family counselors expectations have on their practices in relation to the problems, needs and aspirations of their single-parented clients? Many questions could be raised and applications made to a variety of systems which touch on the lives of children. However, for the purposes of this paper, recommendations have been limited primarily to educational settings.

The instrument used in this study simply measures expectations for a general class of children, those who are single-parented. Adaptation

of the instrument to measure more subtle differences in expectations for the many subgroups contained in single-parent families could prove useful. For example, are expectations and/or treatment different for children whose parents are single for socially approved reasons (e.g., death or military service) and children whose parents are single for socially disapproved reasons (e.g., divorce or imprisonment). Likewise, are there differences in expectations for or attitudes toward children who live solely with a father in contrast to a mother? Also, since the results of this investigation are generalizable only to similar rural, white, middle-class populations, replications are recommended with a more diverse sample. Findings of such studies could provide valuable comparative data and form a strong basis for interventions in educational settings.

In conclusion, this study was an important preliminary investigation into a complex problem. Teacher expectations are only one in a spectrum of related single-parent and educational issues which are crucial to address. The rapid changes taking place in society hasten the need for educating the public to a respect for and understanding of family diversity.

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TABLE 1
Percentages of Teachers' Responses
to Items on the Subscales
(N=100)

	MML-1 ^a	SML-1 ^b	ALA ^c	SML-2 ^d	MML-2 ^e
<u>Psycho-Social Subscale</u>					
craves attention	42	40	17	1	0
accepts others readily	0	7	42	29	21
insecurity	39	47	14	0	0
undisciplined	31	40	19	2	0
truant	32	43	21	3	1
cooperates with peers	1	2	50	35	12
embarrassed about family	13	48	37	2	1
confused sex-role identity	7	45	46	1	1
high self-esteem	0	4	33	42	19
frequent expression of anger	14	50	36	0	0
unhappy	12	49	39	0	0
defiant	15	54	29	2	0
overly fearful	11	54	35	0	0
<u>Academic Subscale</u>					
high motivation to achieve	0	2	37	32	29
creativity	3	5	66	14	9
poor reading skills	9	38	50	1	1
incomplete homework	7	50	40	1	0
high academic achievement	0	3	31	39	26
positive attitude toward school	0	3	36	42	19
good written expression	0	2	63	25	10

^aMML-1 (much more likely in children from 1-parent families)

^bSML-1 (somewhat more likely in children from 1-parent families)

^cALA (as likely as)

^dSML-2 (somewhat more likely in children from 2-parent families)

^eMML-2 (much more likely in children from 2-parent families)

TABLE 2
Percentages of Parents' Responses
to Items on the Subscales
(N=102)

	MML-1 ^a	SML-1 ^b	ALA ^c	SML-2 ^d	MML-2 ^e
<u>Psycho-Social Subscale</u>					
craves attention	36.3	46.1	14.7	2.0	1.0
accepts others readily	2.9	8.8	36.3	38.2	13.7
insecurity	40.2	48.0	9.8	2.0	0
undisciplined	28.4	46.1	21.6	3.9	0
truant	23.5	44.1	31.4	1.0	0
cooperates with peers	2.0	3.9	43.1	42.6	7.9
embarrassed about family	38.2	39.2	18.6	3.9	0
confused sex-role identity	25.5	48.0	23.5	2.9	0
high self-esteem	2.0	3.9	29.4	40.2	24.5
frequent expression of anger	20.6	48.0	29.4	2.0	0
unhappy	23.5	45.1	30.4	1.0	0
defiant	26.5	40.2	30.4	2.0	1.0
overly fearful	26.5	47.1	26.5	0	0
<u>Academic Subscale</u>					
high motivation to achieve	2.0	5.9	43.1	30.4	18.6
creativity	2.0	6.9	62.7	18.6	9.8
poor reading skills	8.8	22.5	66.7	1.0	1.0
incomplete homework	9.8	41.2	46.1	1.0	1.0
high academic achievement	1.0	1.0	50.0	30.4	17.6
positive attitude toward school	1.0	2.9	48.0	36.3	11.8
good written expression	0	4.9	56.9	31.4	6.9

^aMML-1 (much more likely in children from 1-parent families)

^bSML-1 (somewhat more likely in children from 1-parent families)

^cALA (as likely as)

^dSML-2 (somewhat more likely in children from 2-parent families)

^eMML-2 (much more likely in children from 2-parent families)